

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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"When an election committee is formed, the watchword is, to shorten the business by *knocking out* the brains, that is, by striking from the committee-list the names of those gentlemen, who may happen to understand the subject. In this sense the Right Honourable Gentleman (Mr. Pitt) has now (Feb. 1801) literally *knocked out the brains of the Administration*, and then, clapping a *mask* on the *skeleton*, he cries, here is as fine vigour and talent for you as any body can wish to see! This *empty skull*, this *skeleton administration*, this is the *phantom* that is to over-awe our *enemies*, and to command the confidence of the House and of the people! This is the *herd*, that is to wield our remaining resources, and that too without the sanction of the country!"—MR. SHERIDAN'S SPEECH IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, FEB. 16, 1801.

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LETTER I.

TO R. B. SHERIDAN, ESQ. M. P.

SIR,—All those who have read, or heard of, the debate, which took place in the House of Commons on the 5th instant, will, I imagine, consider it to be, on my part, not only a right, but a duty, to make some remarks on it; and, as you took the lead in cavilling against certain parts of my work, the reader will, I am persuaded, think it perfectly natural, that I should, on this occasion, address myself to you. Entertaining a profound respect for the Houses of Parliament, I must, before I proceed further, beg leave to state, that it is not on the speeches of members of the House of Commons that I consider myself as commenting, but on publications, which have appeared in the newspapers, purporting to be such speeches, and which publications have been made without being contradicted by any of the persons, to whom the speeches are attributed, and with whom, therefore, I have an undoubted right to remonstrate.

The debate took place on the 4th instant. It arose in a committee of the whole House, on the National Defence Bill; or rather, on a bill to amend the National Defence Bill, and which amendment tended to destroy all the better part of the original bill, inasmuch as it transferred the defence of the country from *Voluntary Service* to mere *Volunteer Corps*, a measure of the folly of which I shall hereafter find an opportunity to speak more at large. Mr. Windham expressed his disapprobation of the amendment, and, in the course of his observations, he made the following one, relative to the public prints: "I allow," said he "that, amongst a great deal of execrable stuff, one does, now and then, find a good remark in the public prints, and these prints do, at this moment, show a becoming activity in the public cause, though, for a long time, they remained buried in the

same supineness as his Majesty's ministers."—I shall now insert the debate, as far as it relates to my subject.

MR. SHERIDAN.—"I cannot suspend the expression of the indignation I feel at the manner in which he (Mr. Windham) has expressed his contempt of the use of the press of Great Britain, as far as relates to our *diurnal* Journalists. He has condescended to admit, that amidst a mass of execrable trash in the newspapers, there is now and then something worth attending to. Sir, I cannot hear with patience this libel on what I consider to be the boldest, and at the present moment, the most forward bulwark of our liberty and constitution. Among the provocations which our *atrocious* enemy has given us to renew the present war, I have considered his audacious attempt to bully our ministers into a surrender of the freedom of the British press to be the greatest (*Loud cry of bear! bear!*) And I do not hesitate to say, that at the present crisis of impending peril to the safety of the throne, the safety of the constitution, the freedom of the people, and the protection of property, no country on earth through all its ranks and all its interests ever owed an equal degree of gratitude and obligation to any quarter or to any protecting exertion as this country now owes to the spirited and principled exertions of the general press of Great Britain. The right hon. gentleman, however, I am sure, does not mean to extend his censure or contempt to all periodical political publications. The poor daily prints are of low rank which he may despise; but the *aristocratic* dignity of a *Weekly Register*, I suspect, is exempted from his sarcastic animadversions. There is no execrable stuff in that paper. *Exhortation to mutiny in the navy and the dock-yards*, is loyal and salutary advice. *Derision and contempt of the Government*, and of all the subaltern en-

" trusted powers is excellent and loyal coun-
" cil. I speak, Sir, fairly of that paper.
" I have no reason personally to approve
" it; but I will contrast my candour with
" the right hon. gentleman's, when I say
" that though I disapprove of many things
" contained in it, yet is there much matter
" worthy to be attended to in it; I some-
" times find in it observations of an admi-
" rable quality.—(Mr. Windham here bow-
" ed)—The right hon. gentleman answers
" me with a condescending bow. I really
" did not know before, that in speaking
" sincerely what I felt, I was gratifying
" the feelings of any writer in that paper.
" I therefore forbear any comment further
" in deference to the blushing modesty of
" a present author."

MR. WINDHAM.—“ The hon. gentleman (Mr. Sheridan) seems to be actuated with all the zeal of a new Convert, or rather he conducts himself with all the precipitancy of a raw recruit, for he has no sooner fallen into the ranks (Mr. Sheridan *sat on the Treasury Bench*) than he fires off his musket, without waiting for the word of command. Since, however, the hon. gent. has begun, he must not be surprised to find his fire returned, nor must the corps, in which he has enlisted, expect to escape the consequences of an attack thus indiscreetly invited.—If it were even true that I had changed my opinion upon this subject (which is not the case) it certainly would be excusable upon a measure of so much importance, embracing such a variety of detail, and passed with so much precipitation. It is not only possible, but very natural, that gentlemen may have changed their opinion upon the subject. But this will afford no excuse to ministers for bringing the bill forward at so late a period, or for making that the last step which ought to have been the first. They should have recollect'd that this measure would take up a great deal of time. It is like the seven ages of man; there is the notice, the motion for the bill, the first, second, and third reading of the bill, and after that comes the whole detail of its execution, which has thrown the country into as great a bustle as if it was, every where, a racing or an assize week. There are county meetings, meetings of lieutenants, magistrates, churchwardens, overseers, and a long train of *et ceteras*. There the tything man and the constable ~~and the school-master~~ to read the ~~and the school-master~~ going to the magistrate writ-

“ ing to the Secretary at War to elucidate
“ it, and the Secretary at War coming to
“ the House of Commons to amend it. But
“ in all this bustle and confusion, how long
“ will it be before we have soldiers ready
“ to seek honour in the cannon’s mouth?
“ Whatever effect these measures may have
“ hereafter, they will do nothing at present.
“ If Buonaparté were to land (and we
“ know not how soon he may land) would
“ it be of any use to say to him: ‘We have
“ county meetings, and ballotings, and
“ drillings, and if you will have the good-
“ ness to wait a short time, we shall be
“ quite prepared for you?’—The hon. gen-
“ tleman has spoken highly of the exer-
“ tions of the daily papers: they certainly
“ have contained some good sentiments lat-
“ terly: I only wish that some of them
“ had begun a little sooner, and then they
“ would not have now to repair the mis-
“ chief which they had been doing for so
“ many years, and which I am afraid can-
“ not be repaired by a few paper bullets.
“ It is not, however, astonishing that the
“ papers to which I allude should become
“ the objects of the hon. gentleman’s pane-
“ gyric, for they have exactly followed his
“ example. After years of war, in which
“ he and they professed and disseminated
“ principles and opinions the most mis-
“ chievous to the country, they now wheel
“ suddenly about, and claim great merit for
“ desisting from their former conduct, and
“ for endeavouring to preserve themselves
“ from the fury of the storm, which they so
“ largely contributed to raise. At the end
“ of ten years, during which the hon. gen-
“ tleman has been diligently labouring with
“ those who have set fire to the four cor-
“ ners of the world, he now comes with
“ his little bucket, with his thimble-full of
“ water, to extinguish the mighty conflag-
“ ration. Having sedulously assisted in
“ producing that complication of ills, which
“ has brought us to the verge of the grave,
“ he now exclaims, with DR. SYRINGE in
“ the play, ‘*who shall dare to talk of dying
whilst I am in the house?*’—As to the
“ weekly publication, to which the hon.
“ gentleman has alluded to, I entertain all
“ the sentiments of respect, which he sup-
“ pose me to entertain, both for the work
“ and for its autho^r, of whom I had a high
“ opinion long before I personally knew
“ him. I admired the conduct which he
“ pursued, through a most trying crisis in
“ America, where he uniformly supported
“ all those principles upon which the hap-
“ piness of mankind depend; where he
“ uniformly opposed all those principles

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" (including such as were formerly professed by the hon. gentleman) which tend to sap the foundations of civil society, and to spread misery and wickedness through the world; and where, by his own unaided exertions, he rendered his country services that entitle him to a statue of gold."

MR SHERIDAN.—" The right hon. gentleman has pronounced a lofty panegyric on the Weekly Register: he has declared, that he agrees in every sentiment contained in it, and that a statue of gold ought to be erected to the writer. Statues, now-a-days, are not voted by the Legislature, but upon private subscriptions. I hope the right hon. gentleman will immediately commence one upon the Stock Exchange of the City of London. The writer, with whose every sentiment he agrees, having only maintained that the co-existence of the funds and the monarchy is no longer possible. I am therefore entitled to assume, that the right hon. member agrees with Mr. COBBETT that the violation of all public faith, and the destruction of all public property, is an immediate and indispensable measure for the protection of the monarchy and constitution of the country. I hear a groan from an hon. and learned friend of the right hon. gentleman. I rejoice to hear so forcible and surely an expression of his anger and disapprobation of the idea I have referred to. [Dr. LAURENCE said, across the House, *his meaning was mistaken*]. Then, said Mr. Sheridan, I am to understand that the learned doctor approves the unqualified panegyric bestowed upon Mr. COBBETT's suggestions, and that he equally wishes to see a statue of gold erected to him; nay, I must presume his wish to be not merely a statue, but a colossal statue."

MR. ARCHDALL.—" I will ask the right hon. gentleman opposite (Mr. Windham), whether he recollects, in Mr. Cobbett's publication, of which he professes himself such an admirer, a number, in which the state of Ireland was represented in a manner which was calculated to make the very worst impression? It stated that there were no more than 18,000 men in Ireland, of which 10,000 were doing duty in garrisons, and that France might send over, in four ships, from Brest, as many men as would be sufficient to run from one end of the island to the other. I will ask, whether that is one of the sentiments which the

" right hon. gentleman is ready to approve and defend, and if it is one of those that entitle the writer to a statue of gold?" —To these interrogatories Mr. Windham refused, of course, to give any answer.

Now, Sir, I shall, 1. Refute the charges, brought by you and Mr. Archdall, against certain parts of my writings in the Political Register: 2. I shall make an humble attempt to describe the source, the operations, and effect of that "true English feeling," that "sacrifice of party spirit to public good," of which you have lately made so ostentatious a display: 3. Your "constancy and consistency" shall receive, as is their due, my particular attention: 4. I shall make a full exposure of your connexion with the newspaper press, shall show the reciprocal dependence which subsists between you and the persons concerned in the conducting of that press, and shall point out the mischiefs which have arisen, and which will yet arise, from this reciprocity.

1. The charges brought, by you and Mr. Archdall, against me, as a public writer, were, *First*, that I published a statement, calculated to produce the very worst impressions with respect to Ireland. *Secondly*, that I endeavoured to excite a mutiny in the Navy: *Thirdly*, that I was labouring to produce a national bankruptcy, and a violation of all public faith: *Fourthly*, that I held up to derision and contempt the Government, together with all the subaltern entrusted powers thereof.

The first of these charges, which was brought by that same Mr. Archdall, who, only about a month ago, drew a most enchanting picture of the tranquillity, the harmony, and the security, of Ireland, appears to have been founded on two passages of the Register, Vol. III. p. 539. The subject, upon which I was writing, was, the neglect and tardiness of the Admiralty, the fatal consequences of which I endeavoured to illustrate by putting a case with respect to Ireland, first stating, that it was childish in the extreme to suppose, that Buonaparté was not much better informed of our state of preparation than I could possibly be. "What," said I, "in our present dismasted state, is to prevent an invasion of Ireland? There are 18,000 men in that country, 10,000 of whom are wanted, and are absolutely necessary for garrison duty; and, as to the militia, a single regiment will not be fit for actual service for these nine months, at the very soonest. When, then, would be the consequence, if a well-appointed army of 15,000 men, escorted by four or five

" ships of the line, were to sail out of Brest for Ireland? We have not four or five ships of the line, at any one place, fit for sea; and consequently could not send a force to meet them. And, in this state it is, that we are bidden to hold our tongues, and to impose implicit confidence in the very men, who have brought us into this dangerous and disgraceful situation!" The latter part of the passage here quoted, alluded to a charge brought against me by the London news-writers, who accused me at once of "exposing the weakness of the country" and of "under-rating its strength." To which I replied, that, either my statements were true, or they were false: if true, I had not under-rated the strength of the country; and, if false, I had not been exposing its weakness to the enemy, whom, on the contrary, my statements tended to deceive and mislead. This dilemma I now beg leave to present to Mr. Archdall. But, Sir, my statements, respecting Ireland, were exactly correct: that country was in the defenceless state described by me; and, if it be in a better state now, I leave the public to judge whether the change is not more likely to have been occasioned by me than by Mr. Archdall, who had been constantly endeavouring to persuade the nation, that Ireland was perfectly tranquil within, and secure from without.—From the manner, too, in which Mr. Archdall made his charge against the Register, it would appear to any person not well acquainted with all the circumstances, that the statement, to which he referred, was made *since the war began*, and not, as was really the case, six weeks before the close of the negotiation, and at a moment, too, when *peace* was continually on the lips of Mr. Archdall. The tendency of the statement condemned by this gentleman, was, he tells the Parliament, to produce the very worst impressions, which, in some of the papers, he is made to explain thus: "to invite the enemy, to encourage seditious, and to dishearten the well-affected." To invite an enemy, with whom Mr. Archdall, at that very moment, saw a fair prospect of living in peace; to encourage the seditious and dishearten the well-affected in the country, which was "perfectly tranquil within and secure from without!"—But, Sir, not to dwell on this blundering inconsistency, I am ready to admit, that the state of Ireland was what I then described it, as to means of defence against external attacks, and also, what recent events have proved it to have been with regard to internal tranquillity and harmony; and, admitting this, I contend, that,

having reason to hope that my voice would have some trifling effect, it was my duty to make the statement, and publicly to give the opinion, of which your friend Mr. Archdall has thought proper to complain.

—In speaking of the means of national defence, the line of distinction to be followed, is, that, in times of imminent danger, no weak part, which it is impossible to strengthen, ought to be pointed out. If, for instance, the enemy were just ready to sail from his shores to attack us, and if I knew of a particular part of our coast, which was totally defenceless, and whither it would be impossible, or, at least, very difficult, to march an army *in time* to repel the invader, it would be highly blameable in me to point out the situation of such part. But, if there were time to march an army to the spot; if there were time to render this weak part strong, and thereby to effect the repulsion of the enemy, or to prevent his attack; then, it would be my duty, not only to direct the attention of the public towards the part in question, but to describe, as strongly as possible, the danger to be apprehended from the weakness of the said part; because, it is only by such means, that I could hope to contribute towards the removal of the cause of my apprehension. The question, therefore, with respect to my remarks on the state of Ireland is briefly this:—Was there, or was there not, *on the 9th of April last*, time to add to the strength of the army in that country, and to that of the fleet in the two channels, previous to a French invasion?—If this question be answered in the affirmative, if there was, six weeks before the war began, yet time to add to the means of defending the sister Island, then was my statement not only justifiable, but meritorious, and perhaps, eminently useful.

The second charge is, that I have endeavoured to excite a mutiny in the navy.—I have, Sir, not a very high opinion of your political candour. Misrepresentation I have long observed to be your *fort*: but, I really was surprised to see it stated, that you had, in your place in Parliament, repeated, as a truth, this false and shameful libel of the Morning Post, which libel was grounded on the expressions contained in an article, that I would, if I thought it still necessary, republish every weak of my life.—First, Sir, observe, that this article was published so long ago as the 22d of January last, just in the midst of that "profound peace," of the continuation of which Mr. Addington was then holding forth the most flattering promises. My correspondent (for I have not the merit of having written the article),

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who has rather more understanding on naval matters than you have, and whose zeal for the service yields to that of no man in the kingdom, wished to draw the attention of the public towards the negligence of the Admiralty, and particularly towards that part of it, from which he apprehended fatal consequences with respect to the discipline of the fleet. He reprobated the conduct of the Admiralty in keeping ships, during peace, too long without being relieved or paid, while, as it were to tantalize the sailors, papers, boasting of having restored to the nation the blessings of peace, were sent round by the ministers to every ship in commission, where they were ordered to be read to the men, and to be stuck upon the mast. Each of these papers were accompanied with an engraved representation of the *tree of liberty*, which was also stuck up in a conspicuous part of the ship, and this too, just at the time, when the mutiny raged on board the ships in Bantry Bay. Such inconsistent, such childish, or such wicked measures, my correspondent *disapproved* of, because they tended to delude the sailors, to make them refractory, and finally, to produce *mutiny*. He sets out with explicitly declaring his object to be to point out, while yet there is time, a *precaution against* the recurrences of this most dreadful of all evils; and, at the very threshold of his suggestions, he says: "Far be it from me not to *abhor* and *condemn* the conduct of men, who, under *any sort of government or rule*, take the *remedy of abuses into their own hands*." —Now, Sir, without asking whether *you* have acted upon principles like this, let me put it to that *candour*, which, in imitation of your new leader, you are so forward to profess, whether you have not, on the present occasion, been led to patronize, if not to invent a misrepresentation almost unworthy of a news-paper hack? —Such, Sir, was the article, on which you, in imitation of the writer of the *Morning Post*, thought proper to prefer against me the charge of endeavouring to excite mutiny, though you declared, for reasons too obvious to mention, carrying your imitation so far as to class me with *Sir Francis Burdett* and *Mr. Arthur O'Connor*, of the latter of whom, as in conjunction with you, I shall hereafter have occasion to speak. But, in imputing to my work the nefarious object of exciting mutiny in the fleet, you spoke *generally*, and, therefore, from an implied attention to its

general tendency. I not only never did, in my whole life, write or say, any thing, with an intention of stirring up mutiny, either in the fleet or in the army, but, if any part of my exertions is marked with peculiar earnestness, it is that part of them which has been directed to the inculcating of due subordination, and to the condemnation of every attempt, either direct or indirect, to produce a resistance of lawful authority, whether military or civil. Have I, Sir, during the loitering progress of the several measures for the land defence of the country, thrown out even a hint calculated to *obstruct* those measures? And, as to the sea-service, let the following article, published in the *Register* of the 14th of May last, stand as a record of my sentiments and of the nature of your accusation:—"At, and in the neighbourhood of Newcastle, some very serious disturbances have taken place in consequence of the impress service. The mischief appears to have arisen, chiefly, from an advertisement, inserted by some of the ship-owners, in a paper, the editor of which has long been famed for his disloyalty. These persons admit the necessity of the impress service for the purpose of manning the fleet, but they are by no means of opinion, that the accomplishment of that object ought to interfere, for ever so short a time, with their individual interests! This combination was, however, broken by the more respectable class of ship-owners, who seemed fully sensible of the criminal folly of their brethren. Nevertheless, as it is much easier to foment than allay a malcontent spirit, a very troublesome opposition to the service has been raised amongst the lower orders of the people, which has produced consequences far from being pleasant. His Majesty's officers have been insulted; in some instances, acts of violence have been committed against them and their men; and, we are well informed, that a boat from the *Lapwing* has been even fired into from Newcastle bridge.—That a vile democratic printer, that is to say, a rebel by principle, and almost by trade, should endeavour to create so mischievous a disposition, is not at all wonderful; but, that his nefarious efforts should be countenanced by any portion, however small, of the ship-owners of Great-Britain, is a circumstance that could not fail to excite both astonishment and indignation, at any time, and especially at this moment, when their whole body is petitioning His Majesty's Parliament for a repeal of the tonnage duty,

* See *Register*, Vol. III. p. 68.—I beg leave to request the reader to peruse the whole of the excellent letter here referred to.

" upon the express plea, that their ships are " the nursery where seamen are raised for " the Royal Navy! This is the ground, and " the only good ground, of their petition. " It is well known, the experience of ages " has proved, that a numerous fleet cannot " be expeditiously manned without the aid " of press-gangs. If, therefore, the ship- " owners oppose this established, this abso- " lutely necessary mode of obtaining seamen " from their ships, those ships are a species " of property entitled to no more favour than " dwelling-houses, barns or stables are en- " titled to. The Royal Navy is necessary " to the maintenance of the honour, the se- " curity, the independence, of the country : " its object is to protect the persons and the " property of all His Majesty's subjects ; " but, it cannot be denied, that it yields a " more immediate protection to mercantile " mariners, and the mercantile marine, than " to any other class of subjects, or any other " sort of property. The farmer or mecha- " nic may, without much offence against " reason, be supposed capable of entertain- " ing doubts of the necessity of a fleet of " men of war, the operations of which are " so distant from the scene of his calling, " and the seat of his property ; but, the " ship-owner must know, that, without the " protection of the Royal Navy, his trade " must instantly cease. And, as to the *le-* " *gality* and *justice* of the impress, considered " in respect to the seamen impressed, the " man must be very ignorant, or incorrigibly " perverse, who calls either in question. " The warrants, in virtue of which the im- " press is executed, are as legal as any war- " rant whatever ; and, what ship-owner, " what mariner, does not know, when he " becomes a mariner, that he will be liable " to the impress? This is one of the *condi-* " *tions*, on which he enters the profession, " and on which he demands and enjoys the " numerous advantages thereunto belong- " ing. If we look round the country we " shall find, that no small portion of its " wealth belongs to men who have, in one " way or another, followed the sea. And, " if that property is saved, if they have been " too, protected in its acquirement by the " navy of the country, shall they not be " called on to contribute towards the sup- " port of that navy? The mercantile ma- " rine of the whole empire does not employ " less than 300,000 persons, not more, per- "haps, than 30,000 of whom are ever, at " any one time, impressed into the service " of their country ; and, is this contributing " too largely to the support of that, without " which their whole profession must imme-

" diately perish? The militia is not, indeed, " raised by press-gangs ; but, it is not com- " posed of volunteers. The soldiers are com- " pelled to come into the service, and a service, " which, though it does not take them out " of the kingdom, is much more contrary to " their habits and their inclinations, than " that of the fleet can possibly be to the " seamen of the mercantile marine, who " have been inured to the element on which " they are to serve, and whose minds are " accustomed to long absence from rela- " tions and friends. As to the compensation, " too, what poor man's calling offers a bet- " ter or more secure? In the first place, " the impressed seaman has a bounty full " as great as if he were a volunteer. His " pay is nearly as great as he can obtain in " a merchant ship, his provisions and ac- " commodation better. He has his chance " of prize-money, and, if he is in greater " danger from powder and ball, he is in " less danger from the wrecks and other " accidents to which merchantmen are ex- " posed much more than men of war ; and " after all, if he be disabled or worn out " in the service, his king and country pro- " vide him with a comfortable and honour- " able maintenance for the rest of his days, " which he may spend under the roof of a " palace far surpassing any one of the dwel- " lings of his Sovereign, whereas, should " the same circumstances overtake him in " the merchant service, he must pine out " his life under the misery and degradation " of a workhouse.—This is the light, in " which the subject must be viewed, by " every one who takes time to bestow on " it a careful and impartial examination ; " and therefore, we cannot but express our " reprobation of the conduct of any per- " sons whatever, and particularly ship- " owners, who attempt to throw obstacles " in the way of the impress service, by the " means of which only, the Royal Navy " can possibly be manned."—Now, Sir, " if you read the Register, in such a way " as to be able to speak to its character and " general tendency, you must have read these " observations. Indeed, from the manner in " which you spoke, it is very evident, that " you had so read it : but whether you had " or had not ; whether you spoke against " conviction, or with a total ignorance of the " fact, few persons, I imagine, will be inclined " to envy you the honour to be derived " from this part of your speech.

The above essay is, indeed, a mere trifling ; I claim very little merit on account of it ; but, I sincerely believe, that it has produced more good to the country, than all the best

parts of in your balance cal Reg number contain, literary an exactly almost e tained th military and nav distruste which d ections ; banding the fleet recurrin When t I did no correspo when G executed condem mob *, ters we ter, first the ferc short, S respect rially, you hav dangers people pular, y me of c " const numero tary di reprovin to cram reformi This is yielded yield. and for the rab politica laugh a you ma son an quence to the knowlid undevi and pa of wh work. section

parts of all the speeches that you ever uttered in your life, to say nothing of the vast overbalance of the bad parts.—Let the Political Register be examined, from the first number to the last, and, it will be found to contain, not only no dissuasion from the military and naval service, but efforts of an exactly contrary tendency will appear in almost every page. I have constantly maintained that it is necessary for us to become a military people; I have exalted the military and naval above all other professions; I have distrusted every species of security but that which depends upon military and naval exertions; I have strongly condemned the disbanding of the army and the dismantling of the fleet; *arms and men*, has been the ever recurring burthen of my exhortations. When the mutiny broke out at Bantry Bay, I did not approve of Lords of the Admiralty corresponding with privates of marines; when Governor Wall was condemned and executed for punishing a mutineer, I openly condemned the joy of the blood-thirsty mob *, while you and the news-paper writers were silent, and while some of these latter, first encouraged and afterwards justified the ferocious proceedings at Newgate. In short, Sir, the object of this work, has, with respect to the subject before us, been, invariably, directly the opposite of that, which you have attributed to it; and, did not the dangers of the country and the fears of the people render your present sentiments popular, you would be very likely to accuse me of endeavours to subvert our “glorious “constitution” by reconciling the people to numerous armies and to the rigours of military discipline. What! MR. SHERIDAN reproving MR. COBBETT for endeavouring to *cramp the operations of war!* Oh, the all-reforming, the irresistible, *force of events!* This is the force, Sir, to which you have now yielded, and to which you must always yield. You may twist and shift backward and forward; you may flatter the caprice of the rabble; you may play off your budget of political tricks; you may get sometimes the laugh and sometimes the cry on your side; you may, for the moment triumph over reason and truth, though adorned with eloquence and wit; but, finally, you must yield to the *force of events*, and must tacitly acknowledge your inferiority to those, who undeviatingly pursue the path of wisdom and political integrity, and for the exalting of whose characters time is continually at work. What, for instance, are the political sentiments which have distinguished you

from MR. WINDHAM? *Peace*, without any regard to the terms, was your cry. You wished to preserve the peace of Amiens. You represented the preservation of it as absolutely necessary to the existence of the state. War, all war, was your aversion, and you railed at MR. WINDHAM, you endeavoured to excite a popular prejudice against him, because, according to your representation, he entertained a fondness for war, and for the maintenance of large armies and fleets. How soon, alas! have events given your opponent the victory! You are now become the *supporter of war*, the *enemy of mutiny*, and the *satyrist of* that very-Buonaparté *whom you formerly eulogized!* Not only have you been subdued by MR. WINDHAM, but you are actually tugging at the wheels of his military chariot: and, as to the fractious bluster, by which you are endeavouring to hide your disgrace, it resembles the dust rising from the feet of a beaten and routed battalion.

—I am, Sir, yours, &c. &c.

WM. COBBETT.

Duke Street, August 12, 1803.

TO THE PUBLIC.

Emboldened by the example of MR. SHERIDAN, Mr. Heriot and some other proprietors of newspapers, have repeated the charge of *my endeavouring to excite mutiny in the fleet*, to which Mr. Heriot has added other charges, and has gone so far as to point out the punishment, which he thinks ought to be inflicted on me. On Saturday, the 6th instant, he published, in his paper, called the TRUE BRITON, the following paragraph:—“MR. WINDHAM professes him “self to be the *Soldiers’ Friend*. We can “not suppose, however, that his attachment to a certain *American Scribbler* arises “from his being the writer of a work at “the beginning of the French Revolution, “bearing that title, because that work had “for its object to *excite the Soldiery to Mutiny*, “to which, it seems, the same Patriotic “Writer now endeavours to *instigate the Navy*. We speak merely from what has “been said in the House of Commons, for “we think no TRUE BRITON can read “the works of the persons alluded to, with “any kind of temper. The *pillory* or the “*gibbet* we think a more appropriate re-“ward than that which MR. WINDHAM “has suggested for a writer of such a “stamp.”—It was very obvious, that the writer of this paragraph alluded to me, because I was the only person for whom Mr. Windham had recently, in the House of

* See Register, Vol. I. p. 63 and 29.

Commons, suggested a reward of any kind. Conscious that the heinous crimes, which were here imputed to me, were crimes of which I was entirely innocent; knowing myself not to be the author not only of the work referred to, but of any work whatsoever of a similar tendency; knowing that I never had, in the whole course of my life, written, or published, any thing, on political subjects, which had not in view the interest and honour of my Sovereign and my Country, it was impossible for me patiently to see myself thus destined to the *pillory* or the *gibbet*. The moment, therefore, that I saw the *True Briton*, containing the paragraph above quoted, I went to the place where that paper is published. I was accompanied by Mr. Dickins, an American gentleman. My opinion was, that the paragraph was put in without Mr. Heriot's knowledge; for, though I certainly entertained no very high notion of his candour or his veracity, yet, when I reflected that he himself had been one of my eulogists, that he had written me flattering letters while I was in America, and that he must, in many cases at least, have been intimately acquainted with that disinterested and honourable line of conduct, from which I had never deviated; when I reflected on all this, I could not believe it possible, that he should have written, or knowingly inserted, so infamous a libel upon me. In this opinion I went to his house, and was, together with my friend, shown into a room, where there were three persons sitting at a desk, and where Mr. Heriot himself was standing. Being introduced (for I knew him not) I said: "Mr. Heriot, I have some thing to say to you, which, perhaps, it would be better to communicate in private, but, if you choose that these gentlemen should hear me, I have no objection." Upon which he requested them to withdraw. I then, in the presence of Mr. Dickins, pointed out to him the libellous paragraph, and said: "now, give me leave to hope, Sir, that you know nothing of this paragraph." To which he replied; "but I do though." My next question was: "And am I, then, to understand, that you assert that I am worthy of the *pillory* or the *gibbet*?" He answered, "yes, I do." To this there was no reply.—On Saturday the 13th instant, I informed the Public, that personal chastisement had been inflicted on Mr. Heriot for the libel on me, which he had published in the *True Briton* of the sixth. This intimation drew forth his account of an affair, which he had suffered to sleep for nine days, and which,

if I had remained silent, would certainly have slept for ever; but, I could not permit his libel to circulate without informing my readers, at least, that he had been punished for it.—His account, which was published on Monday the 15th instant, surpasses every thing I ever read, or heard of, except, perhaps, the run-away knight's narrative of his battle with the men in buckram and Kendal Green. Except the facts of my going to his house and resenting the insult which he had offered me, there is not, in the whole relation, one circumstance, which is not either a misrepresentation, or a direct falsehood. Some few points, however, are worthy of notice. He begins with expressing an affected contempt for any that I can say; and, his reason for this contempt is, that I was "obliged to fly from America as a *convicted libeller*." The affair to which he alludes was tried by civil action; a corrupt judge and base jury awarded to my adversary 5,000 dollars, the whole of which money, together with the expenses of the law-suit, was paid by British gentlemen in Canada (the Governor of that Province being one), and in the United States of America. Nay, so flagrant was the injustice of the case, that a number of *Americans* agreed to raise the sum required, and made me an offer of it, through one of the Aldermen of New York, an offer which I should have accepted, had it come previously to that made by my own countrymen. This is what Mr. Heriot has the decency to call being a "*convicted libeller*." It must be observed, too, that the cause here spoken of was entirely disconnected with my leaving America. But, what will the reader say, when he is told, that, upon my arrival in England, it was owing to my own refusal, that I did not become a partner with Mr. Heriot in the proprietorship of these very papers, in which he now endeavours to make the world believe, that he has always considered me as beneath his notice! I refused, even as a gift, any sort of partnership with him; and I never would permit him to wait on me on the business, though thereunto solicited by those, who had purchased his types.—It is totally false, that he was either held or struck by Mr. DICKINS, to whom, on the contrary, he resorted for interference. But, it is obvious, that, he implicates Mr. DICKINS for the purpose of getting rid of the only legal witness of the transaction.—It is also false, absolutely false, that I desired him to send away his people. I was very particular in stating, that, if he had no objection to their staying in the room, I had none.

The faction that even if present, himself, corps to —The tongs is falsehood to the p its assoc brought together persons, the door the tro in the to desce —He am glad without with th heartily stanc my asto gard bi nine wh the mat account, tioned t before likely, the fact them?— on Mon himself serving claims t deputed obtain like cas man to veyed th getting would the Gra day abo from he who we the inten sion of himself dress to justice t objection DICKIN the lat subject sur M say or was the

The fact is, I had not the least notion that he would own the paragraph; and, even if I had expected battle, all the persons present, headed by the heroic TRUE BRITON himself, did not appear to me to form a corps too strong for Mr. Dickins and myself.

—The story that he tells about poker and tongs is the most whimsical and romantic falsehood that ever was conceived. He flew to the poker, but I never attempted to touch its associate utensil, till *after* his roaring had brought in his troop, which consisted, altogether, of not less than fifteen or sixteen persons, *one of* whom was dispatched to fasten the doors *next* the street. We passed through the troop, went down, and seated ourselves in the office; but no Mr. Heriot ventured to descend till we had quitted the premises.

—He declares that I did not hurt him. I am glad of it. *Chastisement* may be inflicted without breaking bones. If he is satisfied with this part of the affair, I am, and I heartily congratulate him upon the circumstance, begging leave, however, to express my astonishment, that, if he really did regard himself as the victor, he should wait nine whole days, without saying a word of the matter, while I, who according to his account, was the discomfited party, mentioned the affair the first moment I came before the public! I ask, whether it be likely, that we should have acted thus, if the facts had been such as he has stated them? —When his narrative appeared, on Monday last, Mr. DICKINS, conceiving himself very much aggrieved by it, and observing that the writer advanced certain claims to the character of “*a gentleman*,” deputed a friend to wait on him, in order to obtain that sort of satisfaction, which, in like cases, is generally given by one gentleman to another. Mr. Chapman, who conveyed the message, found as much difficulty in getting admittance to Mr. HERIOT as he would in coming at a favourite mistress of the Grand Seignior. Finally, on Wednesday about noon, after having been surveyed, from head to foot by two or three persons, who were sent to reconnoitre, he obtained the interview, of which, with the suppression of some few circumstances, Mr. Heriot himself has published an account, in that address to the public, where he has *had* the justice to post himself for a coward. —His objection to afford satisfaction to Mr. DICKINS was grounded on the pretext that the latter was *not a gentleman*; on which subject Mr. Chapman observed, that he was sure Mr. Heriot had too much *delicacy* to say or to insinuate, that *he, Mr. Chapman, was the bearer of a message from a person whom*

he did not know to be a gentleman. The wary True Briton, who saw the rocks rising before him, suddenly tacked about, and replied, that Mr. DICKINS might be a gentleman, on other occasions, but that he could not regard him as one, *as far as related to the present affair!* The truth is, that, if to be born in the first rank of persons in his country; if to have had, through life, none but the most respectable connexions; if to have received a liberal education; if to possess sound principles and extraordinary talents; if to be at once accomplished, gentle, and brave; if these constitute a gentleman, then is Mr. DICKINS fully entitled to the character. Nor, can any exception be, on this account, taken to the bearer of the message, who is a son of Colonel Chapman of Virginia, and who is now on his return to America, after having completed his studies in Europe. —On reading this statement, the public will be at no loss to judge of the motives, from which Mr. HERIOT refused the satisfaction demanded.

—MR. HERIOT has apologized for intruding himself on the notice of the public, an apology very proper for him to make, but which would not become me, because, on the maintenance of my reputation depends, in a great degree, the effect and the public utility of my work. Exceedingly, however, am I mortified to have been compelled to make this statement. Little did I once imagine, that I, who used to reproach the Americans with degeneracy; that I, who used to bid them look to the country of their ancestors for examples of frankness and of courage; little did I imagine, that it would ever fall to my lot to announce to the world, that one of my own countrymen, and he too a person who is, or who has been, an officer in his Majesty’s service, had, at the frown of an American, shrunk from a *True Briton* into a despicable poltroon.

WM. COBBETT.

August 18th, 1803.

TO THE EDITOR.

SIR,—Without entering into the question whether Prince Czartorisky or Count Alexander Woronzow are friendly or inimical to this country, I beg those who wish to know what may be the general disposition of the cabinet of St. Petersburg, and who are inclined to form a judgment by something more than professions and declarations, to consider the following circumstances. —Do not the Russians, in general, feel how much they are in the power of this country, by our being, on account of our

vicinity as well as superior naval force, able, at all times, to block up the Baltic? And do they not feel that by our occupying Malta, we may be able to shut them up in the Euxine also? So that if ever they should be inclined to move in any direction we do not like, we can, from this envied position, stretch forth our naval arm, and say *balt.* — Is it not known to a certainty that the late Empress had intentions of making herself mistress of the River *Amur*, and all the country on its left bank to the sea? Had she not views on *Jahan*, and to obtain a footing in *India*, and on the opposite side of *America*? Some such extension is even necessary to Russia, or the establishments on that side of the empire will go to ruin. — Was not a project formed about the year 1790, of sending an army to raise an insurrection of the Mahomedan powers and partizans in India; to profess to have for object the re-establishment of the Mogul on the throne of all India, and to drive us out of the peninsula in case a war with this country had taken place? — Is any one ignorant of the views of that court on Turkey, and of the intention of creating Greece into an independent state, placing the Great Duke Constantine on the throne of Constantinople? Or how much this has been an object of the cabinet, often suspended, but never relinquished for these last hundred years? — Why does Russia pay such vast attention to that part of the empire bordering on the Euxine? Why is the junction of the great rivers to convey merchandize from the most distant parts of the country to the Euxine undertaken, and spoken of with so much exultation by the French? — Cannot France, in a war with this country, procure naval stores from the Black Sea if Malta is wrested out of our hands? Cannot France carry on an immense trade with the Russian ports of the Crimea, Cherson, &c. a trade necessary to make the southern provinces florish, rich in soil, in productions, in population, and blessed with a healthy and temperate air? Does it appear that Russia can have such, or any advantages in those parts, from us? — What disadvantage will accrue to Russia by the French possessing Egypt? And should a quarrel with this country take place, what objection can Russia have to join the French efforts to humble us in India, or elsewhere? — Is Russia more likely to succeed in all, or any of her projects by our having the dominion of the Mediterranean, or by that dominion being transferred to France? — Does it appear from a view of these things, that it will be more agreeable to the Court

of St. Petersburgh to see us in possession of Malta, and able to stop her progress, or to see us shut out of the Mediterranean, and Malta in French, or what is equivalent, in neutral hands? — If Russia is well inclined towards this country, why does she not oblige Buonaparté immediately to evacuate Hanover, &c. as she knows the usurper would not quarrel with her for so trifling an object? — Why does the Court of St. Petersburgh not only wish we should evacuate Malta, but why does it not insist on our holding it in perpetuity? — If these projects of the Court of St. Petersburgh should for the moment be laid aside, can any body assure me that they will not at some future period be resumed? And in that case can any one say, that the loss of Malta will not have all the fatal consequences I have stated? — When we have abandoned Malta, and Russia should be favourably inclined to this country, will it be in her power to set France at defiance? Will not France have a strong hold on her in the East? — Will not our being able to block up Russia on all sides by sea prevent her quarrelling with us, and be a means of preserving a friendly co-operation, which if rightly understood is the true interest of both countries? — When I have a satisfactory answer to these questions, I shall be able to solve the enigma: *Is Russia friendly to this country?* — As to guarantees, surely after the fate of that of the treaty of Luneville and others, nobody can think they are of sufficient force to stop any enterprise of Buonaparté's. Our only guarantees are a British garrison and the affection of the inhabitants. — As to Russia's approving of our blocking up the Elbe it argues nothing. She may give us good words, she may, perhaps, act a farce or two; she may lull us to sleep till Malta is out of our hands. There is no language which a subtle court may not hold to gain its ends. Let us look to the *state of things*. When we know the interest, or what is thought to be the interest of a court, we know its views. The rest is comedy and legerdemain trick. — I beg to know the meaning of all the favours that it has pleased the usurper to confer on the House of Baden, and why, from such hands, they have been accepted. — Let me see strong active measures on the part of Russia. A manifesto that she will support her guarantees, and a Sawroff at the head of another army, and above all that Russia will support us in the possession of Malta; for even should she declare war against Buonaparté I will not admit her good dispositions towards this country, without the

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last measure, which alone will prove that she wishes *hereafter* to maintain that disposition.—I am, Sir, yours, &c. &c.

London, August 15, 1803. THOMAS.

PUBLIC PAPERS.

Notice of the Blockade of the Ports of Genoa and Spezia, by the Ships of his Britannic Majesty.—Dated Downing-street, August 13, 1803.

The King has been pleased to cause it to be signified by the Right Honourable Lord Hawkesbury, his Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, to the Ministers of Neutral Powers residing at this Court, that the necessary measures have been taken, by his Majesty's command, for the blockade of the entrance of the Ports of Genoa and Spezia; and that from this time all the measures authorised by the Law of Nations, and the respective Treaties between his Majesty and the different Neutral Powers, will be adopted and executed with respect to all vessels which may attempt to violate the said blockade.

Dispatch from Gen. Grinfield, giving an account of the Capture of Tobago, by the forces of his Britannic Majesty.—Dated Scarborough, Tobago, July 1, 1803.

MY LORD,—I have the honour to report to your Lordship, the surrender, by capitulation, of the Fort of Scarborough, and the restoration of the Island of Tobago to the British Government. I have the satisfaction to add, that this event appears to be received by the Colony, the inhabitants of which are almost entirely British, with the liveliest sense of gratitude.—The circumstances which led to this fortunate and valuable conquest, were as follow:—On the 25th, Commodore Hood, with the fleet and troops, sailed from St. Lucia, and yesterday, at day-break, we made this Island. About five o'clock in the afternoon, having landed the greater part of the troops, the two leading columns marched forward towards Scarborough, and meeting with no opposition in the defiles of St. Mary's, advanced to Mount Grace, from which place I sent a summons to the Commandant-General Berthier, who returned an answer by proposing terms of capitulation, which were finally settled about four this morning, and at eleven possession of the fortress was given to the British forces; the French garrison marching out with the honours of war, and laying down their arms, after passing the guard of honour, under the orders of Brigadier-General Picton.—The fort having surrendered without resistance, I can only speak, in general terms, of the excellent discipline and good conduct of the officers and soldiers in this expedition; there is no doubt, had the French garrison been sufficiently strong to have hazarded resistance, they would have met with as obstinate an attack as was experienced by the garrison of Morne Fortunée.—It is next to impossible for me to say too much in praise of the co-operation of the Navy. The troops are in the highest degree indebted to Commodore Hood for the accommodation afforded to them on board, and to the judicious arrangements and execution in the embarking and disembarkation of them by Captain Hallowell.—Captain Draper, my Aide-de-Camp and Secretary, returning to England, will have the honour to deliver this dispatch to your Lordship; I beg leave to recommend him to your notice, as an intelligent, diligent, and active offi-

cer—I have the honour to be, &c.—W. GRINFIELD, Lieut. Gen.
Rt. Hon. Lord Hobart,
&c. &c. &c.

[ARTICLES OF CAPITULATION.]

CAESAR BERTHIER, General de Brigade, Captain-General of the Island of Tobago, in the name of the French Republic, offers,

Art. I. To deliver up to the Commander in Chief of his Britannic Majesty's forces, the Fort of Scarborough, in the same state in which it now is, together with the artillery, and military stores.—Answer.—Agreed to.—Art. II. The garrison shall march out with all the honours of war; drums beating, and taking their arms and baggage, with one piece of field artillery.—Answer.—agreed to. The British troops being permitted, at eleven o'clock to-morrow morning, to have possession of the Fort of Scarborough; and the French garrison, at the same time, to march out with the honours of war, drums beating, arms and baggage; and one piece of field artillery; but the arms are to be laid down, and the field piece given up as soon as they shall have passed the Glacis.—Art. III. The Captain-General, his staff, all the officers, all the persons in military or civil employments, with all the soldiers, seamen, servants, and generally all the French attached to the service of the Republic, with their wives and children, shall be embarked within a month, and sent back to France at the expense of his Britannic Majesty.—Answer.—Agreed to. And shall be sent within the time, or as soon after as possible.—Art. IV. A proper vessel shall be furnished as soon as possible for the conveyance of the Captain-General, his family, staff, and other persons in his suite, with the goods and effects belonging to them.—Answer.—Agreed to.—Art. V. The sick and wounded shall be attended to in the Military hospital of Scarborough, at the expense of his Britannic Majesty, and sent to France when cured.—Answer.—Agreed to. And they shall be sent to France as soon as they shall be recovered.—Art. VI. The property of every kind belonging to the inhabitants of the Colony shall be respected; their laws, customs, and usages will be preserved, as they have hitherto been by the French Government.—Agreed to.—The Colony will have the laws existing when under the British Government previous to its last cession to the French Republic.—Art. VII. The Captain General, Cæsar Berthier, shall immediately dispatch the National Brig. Souffleur, now at Scarborough, to apprise his government of this capitulation. The necessary passport for this purpose shall be given by the commander of the naval forces of his Britannic Majesty.—Answer.—Agreed to by me; but subject to the Commodore's opinion. An unarmed vessel may be sent to France, and if the Souffleur is disarmed, she may be sent to France.—Art. VIII. The French merchant vessels now in Scarborough Roads, under the batteries of the fort, shall be allowed to sail for such port of Europe or America as they shall think proper.—Answer.—Requires being referred to the Commodore. Provided the property does not belong to persons who have come to the Island since its cession to the French Republic.—Art. IX. None of the inhabitants shall be molested on account of the conduct they may have held, or opinions they may have professed under the French Government.—Answer.—Agreed to.—Art. X. Du-

ring the space of two years, to commence this day, it shall be permitted to such inhabitants as are desirous of quitting the Island, to dispose of their properties, and remove the amount to whatever place they please.—Answer.—Agreed to.

Providence-House, 30th June, 1803.

W. GRINFIELD, Lieutenant-General, commanding in Chief.

SAMUEL HOOD, Commodore, and Commander in Chief.

22th Messidor, 11th Year of the French Republic.

CÆSAR BERTHIER, Captain-General of the Island of Tobago.

Accepted by order of General BERTHIER, by virtue of his full powers granted to us.

L'ANUSS, First Aide-de-Camp.

BAINHOUSE GENTIL; Aide-de-Camp.

Whereas the provision made in the 8th Article of Capitulation, did not appear to be clearly understood by the Captain-General, Cæsar Berthier, it is now agreed that the Captain-General take to him the William and Jenny merchant ships to transport the French troops and sailors to France, as well as the property of the Captain-General, independent of the unarmed brig stated; and that proper passports shall be furnished for the purpose, and for sailing under the French flag with a cartel; and that all other vessels are to be considered under the regulations and orders of the British Commander in Chief.

SAMUEL HOOD.

CÆSAR BERTHIER, Capt. Gen.

Tobago, 4th July, 1803.

Return of the French Troops and Sailors in Fort Scarborough, in the Island of Tobago, at the time of its surrender to the British force, on the 1st of July, 1803.

3 Captains, 2 Serjeant Majors, 8 Serjeants, 16 Corporals, 73 Grenadiers, 9 Drummers, 120 Sailors.—Total 228.—The General and Staff Officers not included.

C. LUXEMBOURG, Capitaine-Commandant.

Return of French Prisoners taken at the conquest of the Island of St. Lucia, on the 22d of June, 1803, by the troops under the command of Lieutenant-General William Grinfield.

1 Brigadier-General, 1 Lieutenant-Colonel, 1 Major, 10 Captains, 8 Lieutenants, 12 Second Lieutenants, 1 Surgeon Major, 1 Surgeon, 1 Assistant-Surgeon, 13 Serjeant Majors, 77 Serjeants, 74 Corporals, 18 Drummers, 402 privates, 11 Women, 9 Children.—Total, 640.—N. B. One hundred and sixteen of the prisoners, included in the total, are returned sick.

WM. TATUM, Capt. Assist. Adjutant-General.

DOMESTIC OFFICIAL PAPERS.

Address of the House of Commons to His Majesty, at the close of their session on the 12th August, 1803.

Most Gracious Sovereign,—Your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the knights, citizens, and burgesses of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in Parliament assembled, have at length completed the supplies granted to your Majesty for the service of the present year—a period memorable for the events which it has produced, and awful for those which may be yet to come.—In granting those supplies, Your Majesty's faithful Commons have considered that a crisis without example, demands unexampled efforts: and by resolving to raise annually a large

proportion of the supplies for the current year, so long as the war may endure, they have given to all the world a solemn pledge of their inflexible determination to render public credit unassailable.—

They have also proceeded to revise the system of Your Majesty's permanent revenue. By consolidating the duties in each of its principal branches, they have simplified its operations, and at the same time they have endeavoured to render its mode of collection.—The commercial interests of this country, to which our attention was called by Your Majesty's gracious commands at the commencement of the present session, have been maturely considered; and measures have been taken for affording material accommodations and facilities to mercantile transactions, by rendering our principal ports free for all nations to import, deposit, and re-export their merchandize, without toll or tax, unless voluntarily brought into our own market for home-consumption.—Nor have we forgotten to bestow our earnest and serious thoughts upon the safety and efficacy of our church establishment in every part of the United Kingdom. Upon this subject, as comprehending all that consecrates our rational hopes, morals, and policy, we have deliberated with peculiar care and anxiety; and we presume to believe, that the important laws which have been passed in aid of our church establishment will materially strengthen and gradually extend its influence through succeeding ages.—But, Sire, these were cares and objects belonging to times of peace. Wise, politic, and desirable as they might be, nevertheless, called upon now by your Majesty's commands, we have, without hesitation, turned all our thoughts and efforts to meet the renewal of war, persuaded that your Majesty's paternal care preserved to us the blessings of peace so long as they could be retained with safety and honour, and confident that since they have been openly attacked, and the justice of our cause has been made manifest to the world, our appeal to arms will not be in vain.—

This war we see and know to be a war of no ordinary character. We feel that our religion, laws, and liberties, and existence as a nation are put to the issue, and we have prepared for the contest accordingly. Besides the supplies of money, we have augmented beyond all former example, every species of military force known in this country—we have met rebellion with prompt and necessary laws—and for the defence of a Sovereign endeared to us by long experience of his royal virtues, and commanding not our allegiance alone, but our hearts and affections, the whole nation has risen up in arms.—May then the God of our fathers go forth with us to battle, and bless our cause, and establish with victory that Throne which we revere as the bulwark of our liberties; and so shall other nations at length learn, that a free, valiant, and united people is unconquerable, and able to set lasting bounds to an empire of violence, perfidy, and unrelenting ambition.—To the Bills which I have now humbly to present to your Majesty, your Commons, with all humility, entreat your Majesty's Royal Assent.

His Majesty's most gracious Speech from the Throne to both Houses of Parliament.

My Lords and Gentlemen,—I am at length enabled, by the state of public business, to release you from your long and laborious attendance in Parliament.—In closing the session, I have the utmost satisfaction in expressing the strong sense

which I entertain for which has manifested our actual which you and since displayed never been have supplied for the vigorous proceeding and atrocious have the extension of its my loyal submission, that the midst sioned by have not been I had dire satisfaction a systematizing the branches of ed measures material accommuni vigation a tlemen of you My present readiness plies for the

“It is of necessity a heavy punishment cannot substitute which of the prevention the continu that there is no nomy on the preparation calculated to the power of sions and have been Gentlemen, cessation continue has been It will be effect the dom has the realm official direc the cause classes of of pre-emp mighty to the nation that, under the will prove attempt the power in the dis me made, reward for enjoyment by their

which I entertain of that zealous and unwearied regard for the welfare and honour of your country which has distinguished all your proceedings.—During the continuance of peace, your conduct manifested the just view which you had taken of our actual situation, and of the dangers against which you were peculiarly called upon to provide; and since the recurrence of hostilities, you have displayed an energy and promptitude which have never been surpassed, in the means which you have supplied for the defence of the country, and for the vigorous prosecution of the war.—Your proceedings in consequence of the late treasonable and atrocious occurrences in Ireland, will, I trust, have the effect of preventing any further interruption of its internal tranquillity, and of convincing my loyal subjects in that part of the United Kingdom, that they may confidently rely on that protection to which they are so justly entitled.—In the midst of the deliberations, which were occasioned by the immediate exigency of the times, you have not been unmindful of other objects; to which I had directed your attention; and I have great satisfaction in observing, that you have completed a system for consolidating the duties, and regulating the collection and management of the several branches of the revenue; and that you have adopted measures which are calculated to afford material accommodation to the mercantile part of the community, and to encourage and extend the navigation and commerce of My dominions.—Gentlemen of the House of Commons,—I shall return you My particular thanks for the liberality and readiness with which you have granted the supplies for the public service.

“ It is painful for me to reflect, that the means of necessary exertion cannot be provided without a heavy pressure upon my faithful people: but I cannot sufficiently applaud that wisdom and fortitude which have led you to overlook considerations of temporary convenience, for the purpose of preventing a large accumulation of debt during the continuance of the war. You may be assured that there shall be as strict an attention to economy on my part as may be consistent with those preparations and exertions which will be best calculated to frustrate the designs and to weaken the power of the enemy, by whose arrogant pretensions and restless ambition alone these sacrifices have been rendered unavoidable.—*My Lords and Gentlemen*,—I am fully persuaded that, during the cessation of your parliamentary duties, you will continue to be actuated by the same spirit which has been uniformly displayed in your councils. It will be your duty to assist in carrying into effect those important measures which your wisdom has matured for the defence and security of the realm: and particularly to give the most beneficial direction to that ardour and enthusiasm in the cause of their country, which animate all classes of my people.—Justly sensible of the state of pre-eminence in which it has pleased the Almighty to support us, for so many ages, amongst the nations of Europe, I rely, with confidence, that, under the continuance of his Divine Protection, the exertions of my brave and loyal subjects will prove to the enemy and to the world, that an attempt to subvert the independence, or impair the power of this United Kingdom, will terminate in the disgrace and ruin of those by whom it may be made, and that my people will find an ample reward for all their sacrifices, in an undisturbed enjoyment of that freedom and security, which, by their patriotism and valour, they will have

preserved and ensured to themselves and their posterity.

“ *Then the Lord Chancellor, by his Majesty's command, said:—My Lords and Gentlemen*,—It is his Majesty's royal will and pleasure, that this Parliament be prorogued to Thursday the sixth day of October next, to be then here holden; and this Parliament is accordingly prorogued to Thursday the sixth day of October next.”

INTELLIGENCE.

FOREIGN.—Mr. Drummond, the British Minister at Constantinople, had his first audience of the Grand Vizier on the 13th of June; and, on the 21st was presented, with great pomp, to the Grand Signior.—Abdul Wechab, after being defeated by the Pacha of Damascus, collected great reinforcements, and again obtained possession of Mecca.—Tahur, the Albanian chief, who headed the revolt at Cairo, has been assassinated by the people, and the Beys of Upper Egypt have obtained possession of the city.—The Porte, alarmed at these circumstances, is embodying two powerful armies, for the purpose of compelling the submission of the rebels; and the Capitan Pacha, with a considerable fleet sailed from Constantinople on the 26th of June, to co-operate in restoring tranquillity in the Egyptian provinces.—The republic of the Seven Islands has declared its determination to observe the strictest neutrality during the continuance of the war between England and France.—The new Grand Master of Malta, was installed in presence of an assembly of the knights of the order, held at Messina on the 27th of July. The oath was administered to Signior Tommasi, by the Bailley Trott. M. Busy was immediately dispatched to Rome as the representative of the Order at the Holy See. General Vial has been ordered to repair to Messina, to resume his station as ambassador from the French Republic to the Grand Master of Malta.—His Neapolitan Majesty and the royal family still remain at Naples; and, it is said, have no intention of removing to Palermo.—Buonaparté arrived at St. Cloud on the 11th inst. where, it is said, he will remain till the middle of September, and will then proceed to Brest, l'Orient and Rochfort.—The privy counsellor, Lombard, who had been dispatched on a mission from the King of Prussia to the First Consul, at Brussels, returned to Berlin on the 8th inst. M. Portalis arrived there, from Paris, about the same time.—Considerable military and naval preparations are making in the dominions of the Emperor of Russia.—The King of Sweden has given orders for the formation of a cordon of troops on the frontiers of Pomerania.—Negotiations are said to be

carrying on, between the courts of Spain and Denmark, for the cession of the island of Porto Rico, by the former, to the latter power.—Orders have been issued by the Landamman of Switzerland, at the request of the French ambassador, for arresting all the English, within the Swiss territories, as prisoners of war.—M. Schimmelpinninck will reside at Paris, as ambassador and commissary General of the Batavian Republic.

DOMESTIC.—A special commission will be held in Dublin, on the 24th inst. for the trial of those who have been committed upon a charge of high treason. Lord Norbury, Justices Downes and Finucane, and Baron Dally are to preside. None will be tried by court martial, except those who have been guilty of crimes since the proclamation of martial law.—The Lord Lieutenant of Ireland has published an official recommendation to the bankers, merchants, and traders of the city of Dublin, that they would commence a subscription similar to that of Lloyd's, for the relief of the families of those who may fall in the present contest.—Suspected persons continue to be daily arrested in different parts of Ireland: and, during the last week, a merchant of London, was taken into custody, upon suspicion of being connected with the Irish rebels. He was taken before the Lord Mayor, and, after his examination, was put into strict confinement, with orders that no one should be suffered to see him.—Proclamations have been issued by his Majesty's government, directing that persons coming from countries occupied by the enemy shall be suffered to land at Yarmouth, Harwich, Dover, Southampton, and Gravesend, only, under the penalties of the act of the 43d of his Majesty; also, directing, with certain exceptions, that aliens, residing in any part of England, shall remove within ten days; or in Scotland, within sixteen days, and reside within 50 miles of the standard in Cornhill, and not within ten miles of the sea, or any dock-yards. An order of the King in council has also been issued, allowing the trade with the island of St. Lucia to be carried on, under the same regulations which apply to the trade of the other British West India islands.—Addresses have been presented to his Majesty from the counties of Northumberland, Aberdeen, and Louth; the borough of Truro; and the towns of Penzance and Huddersfield, assuring his Majesty of their support in the war.—Mr. Monroe, minister plenipotentiary from the United States of America, to the court of St. James's was presented to his Majesty on the 17th inst. and delivered his credentials.—At a general court of the East-India com-

pany, held at the India-house, the late offer made by the court of directors, of 10,000 tons of shipping for the service of government, received an unanimous sanction.—Lord Hawkesbury has communicated a notice to the different representatives of foreign powers, at the court of London, that his Majesty has directed his forces to blockade the ports of Genoa and Spezia.

MILITARY.—An engagement took place, some time ago, at Brodera in Guzerat, between the British troops and a numerous body of Arabs. The British sustained considerable loss, through the treachery of the enemy, but were finally victorious.—The Peshwa has been deposed by Holcar, after a severe battle in the Mysore, and has been compelled to take refuge in Fort Bassine, near Bombay. The Marquis Wellesley has sent an army of 4,000 Europeans and 16,000 native troops to his assistance: this army is now marching into the Mahratta territories.—The French troops in Italy have not yet taken possession of the forts of the Ligurian Republic; but that measure is daily expected to take place. The Neapolitan Government has been compelled to pay 200,000 florins a month for the support of the Gallo-Italian army in that kingdom.—16,000 Swiss troops have been taken into the pay of France.—Two columns of French troops are marching, through the territory of Munster, to take possession of the district of Gottengen: and 8,000 more are on their way to Hanover, where they are to be quartered. The Senate of Hamburg has consented that a French garrison shall be established at Coxhaven, during the war; and the Senate of Lubec has consented that another shall be placed in Travemunde, on the Baltic. A camp of 6,000 men is forming in the Island of Walcherea, and a considerable force is collecting for the general protection of Zealand, against any attack which may be made by the English. Gen. Dumonceau has issued a proclamation, recommending unanimity between the French and Dutch, as they have one common object in view, and as the conquest of England will be equally advantageous to both Republics.—The conquest of the island of Tobago has followed that of the Island of St. Lucia. Gen. Grinfield, with the troops under his command, sailed from the latter place, on board Commodore Hood's squadron, on the 25th of June, and arrived at Tobago early on the morning of the 31st. Gen. G. landed the troops in the afternoon, and marched, without obstruction, to Mount-Grace, whence he sent a summons to Gen. Berthier, the French commandant, at Fort Scarborough. Terms were immediately proposed

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and accepted; and, on the next day, the whole island was surrendered to the British.—His R. H. the Duke of York is now on a tour along the coast, reviewing the troops stationed there, and examining the preparations which have been made for defence.

NAVAL.—On the 25th of June Commodore Hood, in the Centaur, accompanied by the Argo, Ulysses, Chichester and Hornet, transported the British troops, under the command of Gen. Grinfield, from St. Lucia to Tobago, and anchored in Courland Bay to aid their operations in the reduction of the island. The decisive measures of Gen. Grinfield, however, rendered any further assistance unnecessary.—On the morning of the 9th inst. Capt. Shepheard, in the armed cutter, Princess Augusta, anchored off Boulogne, and was immediately attacked by seven French gun-boats full of soldiers. After a cannonading of an hour and a half they all rowed on shore and anchored under the batteries. Signals were then given for Capt. Macleod, in the Sulphur bomb, to come up, and after a firing of several hours, the gun-boats retreated to the pier-head at Boulogne.—Thirty-two ships of war are fitting in the ports of Spain; and all the Spanish galleons are expected before the end of the month.—Ten ships of the line, fit for service, besides frigates and inferior vessels are in the port of Toulon, waiting for a fair opportunity to sail. A ship of 80 guns was launched on the 14th ult. and two others are now building. A frigate and two brigs from Smyrna lately entered the harbour, and several English vessels are said to have been carried in by the French cruisers in the Mediterranean.—An English flotilla is watching before Civita Vecchia and the mouth of the Tiber. Another squadron has appeared off Ancona in the Adriatic. All vessels entering the ports of Naples are examined by the British cruisers off the coast of that kingdom.—Several of the Baltic fleet have arrived at Yarmouth, and the whole number amounting to about 400 are hourly expected.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

RUSSIA.—We stated, in our last, that there were some favourable symptoms, with respect to the disposition of this power; and, we are now glad to perceive, that the information, from which we then spoke, is strongly corroborated by intelligence from various parts of the Continent.—The Emperor of Russia is said to care little about the possession of Malta. Denmark, which has augmented its army and not its navy, has been questioned by France upon the

subject, and has, we believe, given no answer. This intelligence seems to correspond with that which we published on the 30th of July *.—Events are now making good our assertion, so often repeated, that England must sink for ever, or must regain the reputation which she lost at Amiens. If the powers of the Continent, or any of those powers, should now join us in the war, what will become of the doctrine of Messrs. Fox and SHERIDAN? And, what then, will become of these politicians, if the mighty struggle should, at last, end in the restoration of the House of Bourbon? If they live over the mortification, which they must feel at such an event, we shall be tempted to think them made of brass instead of clay. The ministerial papers now say, “when the Chief Consul declared England no longer able to fight France single handed, he only spoke the general opinion of the Continent, formed from the bad terms of the Treaty of Amiens; but, the great powers, Austria in particular, begin to think that they have been mistaken, since England has declared war.” To the war it is, then, that we are to ascribe the retrieving of our reputation, and the revival of the spirit of the Continent; and, the ministers, together with their new supporter, Mr. SHERIDAN, have explicitly declared, that the opposition of MR. WINDHAM was the principal cause of the war; therefore, if their declaration be true, and we are not much inclined to dispute it, MR. WINDHAM's endeavours, which they have constantly opposed, have, according to the present statements of their papers, retrieved the reputation of England and revived the spirit of the Continent.

TOBAGO.—The taking of this island must be a pleasing circumstance to every one, except, perhaps, Lord Castlereagh, who gave it as his opinion, that “the only way of regaining our influence on the Continent of Europe was to yield up all the colonies which we had taken from France!!” The inhabitants of this island were shamefully abandoned by the Treaty of Amiens, and we advise them, to have a clear understanding with the government, before they again commit their fortunes to the mercy of a Hawkesbury or a Cornwallis.

IRELAND.—We are glad to perceive, that tranquillity prevails in this country; but, it would be both foolish and wicked in us to attempt to persuade our readers, that all causes of apprehension have ceased. There appears to exist a deep and widely organized

* See Vol. IV. p. 153.

† M. Post, August 19th, 1803.

conspiracy against the state; and, that this organization was effected by the aid of French agents, during the peace, there now remains not a shadow of doubt. The flame is stifled, for the present; but, very far indeed is the fire from being extinguished. It is now evident, that French commissaries were at work in Ireland so early as the month of July, 1802; that is, in about six weeks after the Definitive Treaty of peace and *amity* had received the approbation of the last Parliament. The papers, published in May last, prove, that his Majesty's ministers were fully apprized of this French agency so long ago as November, 1802; yet they took no measures to prevent its effects. They even, after making the discovery, sent out orders for the surrender of the Cape of Good Hope! They still endeavoured to preserve peace with this perfidious enemy. They, after discovering Buonaparté's perfidy, caused Mr. Peltier to be prosecuted for attempting to *disturb the amity* so *bhappily* subsisting between that usurper and this country!—But, the most criminal part of the conduct of the ministry, is, their having taken *no precautions* against an insurrection. The government in Ireland was as completely surprised as a drunken sentinel, who is sleeping upon his post, and who requires a good bastinado to bring him to his senses. Messenger after messenger was met with sneers; and a gentleman who, but a very few hours before the Lord Chief Justice was killed, communicated his apprehensions to a person high in office at the Castle, was told, that "some one had been quizzing" him! On this fact our readers may rely; and if we do not *name* the person, who thus treated information of so serious a nature, it is because we regard him as having only participated in the infatuation which prevailed through the whole administration.—It is an alarming consideration, the Irish militia, who, as far as they are raised, consist of men taken out of a country boiling with conspiracy, should not have been raised upon terms that would have admitted of their being brought to this island. Lord Limerick mentioned this, towards the close of the session of parliament, and regretted that a provision of the kind alluded to was not made. It was then, perhaps, too late; but, the very provision now wanted was proposed by Mr. ELLIOT, at the time when the Irish Militia Bill was before parliament. He stated, that, as a *bounty* was to be given, nothing would

be so easy as to extend the service to Great Britain. Four guineas a man was the bounty; another guinea would have extended the service; the number of men was 18,000; so that at the expence of 18,000l. the present embarrassment and fear, not to say imminent danger, might have been avoided, by bringing the Irish militia to Great-Britain, and by sending the British militia to Ireland. MR. ELLIOT repeated his opinion, on this subject, during the discussion of the defence bills; but, in both cases, his advice was rejected; and, by MR. ARCHDALL in particular, it was, in the former instance, treated as *defamatory* of the spirit of *loyalty, subordination, harmony, and contentment*, which prevailed in every part of the sister island!—Ireland is the point, against which, we suspect, the enemy will direct his attacks. There is yet time to render it secure; but what have we to expect from Mr. ADDINGTON and his colleagues? What can we expect from men, who, with the full evidence of a French conspiracy in their possession, suffered Dublin to be surprised?

MR. DUMOURIER is arrived in England, and it is said, has been *sent for* by persons in authority. We hope this is not true; yet we should not be surprised to see such a man carressed and trusted by those, who have uniformly suspected the sincerity of the royalists of France. But, if we really should discover, that this person is entrusted with any thing, on which the safety of the country does, in any degree, depend, we shall not fail to remonstrate against such confidence, let it be bestowed by whomsoever it may.—At any rate, it will be perfectly proper that the people of this country should be fully informed who Mr. Dumourier is, what he has been, and what he has done, not forgetting his *plan for the invasion and conquest of England*, written even after he was proscribed by the republicans of France.

P. S. The scandalous and insolent attacks on the nobility for not subscribing at Lloyd's shall be noticed in our next.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

☞ The Letter on *Invasion*, which contains some most excellent remarks; the Letter on the *Promotions in the Army*; the Letter to Mr. ADDINGTON on the *Income Tax*; the Letter on *Ministerial Promotions*; all these, together with some others if possible, shall appear next week.—The Letter on *Invasion* and that on the *Income Tax* are admirable. We are very anxious to receive other articles from the same hands.